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The end of the irrepressible conflict. By a
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THE END

OF THE

IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT.

BY A

MERCHANT OF PHILADELPHIA

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

PHILADELPHIA:

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The acknowledged leader of the Republican party, made not long ago, at Detroit, a great speech, in which he sought to elucidate the origin of the existing factious and sectional agitation throughout the United States, and in which he also gave his advice as to a proper remedy for that confessedly dangerous agitation. Mr. Seward conceives that during forty years past, we have steadily diverged from the ways of our forefathers; and that this divergence has now become so great, that we are fairly lost in mazes of error, and must, therefore, consult our national safety by a prompt return to old landmarks. He reviews the history of our country, and proves conclusively that, beginning with the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida, each successive addition to our territorial possessions has awakened a fresh and increasingly violent controversy as to the area of slavery—the very controversy that agitates the whole country at the present moment—and he then offers his counsel, and foreshadows the policy of his party in these words:

“My humble advice, then, fellow-citizens, is, that we return and re-establish the original policy of the nation, and henceforth hold, as we did in the beginning, that slavery is and must be only a purely local, temporary, and exceptional institution, confined within the slave States where it already exists, while freedom is the general, normal, enduring, and permanent condition of society within the jurisdiction, and under the authority, of the Constitution of the United States.”

The whole animus of the speech is, not that we have acquired territory too rapidly, but rather that we have given slavery a foothold in our several successive acquisitions. His summary of our consecutive errors, from the

time of the Missouri Compromise to the present exciting crisis, is therefore appropriately made in the following language :

“ It was in 1820, then, that the national deviation began. We have continued ever since the divergent course so inconsiderately entered, until at last we have reached a point, where, amid confusion, bewilderment, and mutual recrimination, it seems alike impossible to go forward or to return. We have added territory after territory, and region after region with the customary boldness of feebly resisted conquerors, not merely neglecting to keep slavery out of our new possessions, but actually removing all the barriers against it which we found standing at the time of the conquest. In doing this we have defied the moral opinions of mankind, overturned the laws and systems of our fathers, and dishonored their memories by declaring that the unequalled and glorious Constitution which they gave us, carries with it, as it attends our eagles, not freedom and personal rights to the oppressed, but slavery and a hateful and baleful commerce in slaves, wherever we win a conquest by sea or land over the whole habitable globe.”

Mr. Seward's speech is quite long, but almost the whole pith and marrow of it may be found in the extracts above given.

It is a singular fact that all the parties which have made nominations for the next presidential term, *favor the acquisition of more territory*. Both sections of the Democratic forces boldly avow such acquisition to be a leading object in their policy. The nominees of the “ Constitutional Union ” party cannot have strength, without the support of Democrats of the conservative order ; and therefore they acknowledge that they also favor moderate and well-timed enlargements of territory. Indeed, they cannot profess any other policy, unless Mr. Everett is willing to repudiate, or disavow the sentiments of the famous post-official letter which he addressed, some years ago, to Lord John Russell, in regard to Cuba as a necessary eventual possession of the

United States. And then again, if we turn to the well-considered Detroit doctrines of Mr. Seward we find that he says: "In this view I regard it as belonging to the office of a statesman not merely to favor an immediate and temporary increase of national wealth, *and an enlargement of national territory*;" from which language it is plain that *enlargement of territory* is a part, although not by any means the whole, of the policy of the Republican party.

Mr. Seward is certainly sanguine as to the increase of our population, and our consequent need of enlarged domain, under the benign influence of free-soil doctrines; for he subsequently says, in the prophetic grandeur of far-sighted statesmanship: "There is not one acre too much in our broad domain for the supply of even three generations of our *free population*, with their certain increase;" and then, after a brief intimation that for such exceeding "certain increase" he relies in part on immigration, he draws the sweeping conclusion: "Certainly, therefore, we have no need and no room for African slaves in the federal territories."

Now we happen to be of the number of those who have much more faith in the indications of Divine Providence, than we have in the prophetic suggestions of Mr. Seward; and we look at the African question in manner following:

During our days of colonial vassalage, our British brethren saw fit, notwithstanding our deprecations and remonstrances, to encourage the importation of negro slaves into America. Mr. Seward very charitably considers this high-handed proceeding of our trans-Atlantic rulers to have been a voluntary movement of the colonists themselves, to procure an adequate supply of laborers; and, he adds in extenuation of that British slave-trade, to which we owe our present four millions of slaves, these remarkable words:

"It was then thought an exercise of Christian benevolence to rescue the African heathen from eternal suffering in a future state, and through the painful path of earthly bondage to open to him the gates of the celestial paradise."

In this view, it was certainly the highest philanthropy,

and not cupidity, nor lawless violence, that transplanted from Africa to America a portion of the negro race.

Not so thought our revolutionary forefathers. Some of them had visited Great Britain—not, however, so pleasantly as the Swards and Sumners of our day have done, nor to be honored and feasted, as progressive men on the question of freedom for all the negroes in North America. They went on a vastly different errand, and they were received in a very different way. They went to complain of infraction of rights, and to ask redress of grievances. They spoke bitterly of exactions of money from the colonists, of troops quartered amongst them, *of African slaves thrust upon them*; but their remonstrances were rejected, their supplications were disregarded, and they were spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne. It is remarkable that their prejudices were so strong, and their tempers so violent, that they failed altogether to suggest or even to allow that charitable view of the British slave trade which the great Republican expositor of the present presidential canvass has presented. It is quite probable that they were equally misguided by passion in regard to other alleged grievances. We live in an age of progress, and may soon come to be assured by one of our countrymen, that British duties on teas, together with sundry other taxes imposed before 1776, were wholesome checks by the mother country upon colonial extravagance; and that those mercenary troops, about which our forefathers made so much ado, were only an efficient police suitable to an obviously riotous population.

In spite, however, of such possible progress of our chief statesmen in "Anglomania," we commit ourselves to unqualified approbation of our forefathers. They would not submit to coercion by a distant power which ignored their rights. They detested taxes; they detested soldiers; they detested the slave trade. They were nobles and patriots of the highest stamp; men competent to subdue a wilderness, and competent also to repel all intruders on the soil so subdued; and we marvel greatly when we hear any of our coun-

trymen instituting any sort of comparison between them and the Italians and Hungarians, or other effeminate and mercenary patriots of the present day.

But our forefathers were not prophets, nor authoritative interpreters of the designs of Divine Providence in respect to the African race; and therefore, although they generally deprecated the extension of slavery beyond the limits of the original thirteen States, we may reverently and safely disregard their *opinions* on this point. Those opinions were simply the sincere, but premature, reasonings of great and good men who had, as it were, seen Joseph sold into bondage, but who did not know that "God meant it unto good, to bring it to pass as it is this day, to save much people alive." As yet, cotton was not in America; and the men of that day were therefore sorely perplexed to divine a hopeful future for a transplanted race, which multiplied so rapidly and was so full of tropical indolence that it could not be self-supporting on the common husbandry of temperate latitudes. That race now outnumbers considerably the three millions of colonists who declared themselves independent of Great Britain in 1776. For each man, woman and child of that race, within the bounds of our greatly enlarged United States, a bale of cotton is annually produced; and the bales of cotton which we export annually average more than half of the whole surplus products or exportable wealth of the Union. Upon that export of cotton repose mainly our shipping interests, our foreign exchanges, our national credit throughout the world. We have a raw material, which African fingers gather, and with which the manufacturing masses of Europe cannot dispense. And we are happy to add, that the condition of our Africans, although they be called slaves, is vastly better than that of an equal number of the laboring population of any part of Europe, although these last be called freemen. And when we speak thus, we admit no exception nor reservation in favor of Great Britain and Ireland; nor, on the other hand, are we insensible of the noble efforts which great and good

men have made during thirty years past, and are still making, for the improvement of the condition of the masses of the United Kingdom. But serf-like poverty is not easily remedied by legislation; and the American, who cannot go abroad and see for himself, may easily read at home enough to convince him of the social misery of "merry England." The English newspapers of the past summer tell us that peers of the realm have expressed grave apprehensions that a population armed against France may easily become an intestine danger to Great Britain herself, and that Mr. Bright has avowed his conviction that a continuance of oppressive taxation may goad the people into the subversion of a monarchy and an aristocracy which are too expensive to be compatible with the comfortable subsistence of the laboring masses. The holders of such language may be, and probably, nay, almost certainly are, extremists; but still there must be vast social misery, vast personal degradation, *great family resemblance to slavery*, in a *free population* of which such things are said, by men who are not only of sound mind and discretion, but high in public confidence, and elevated by wealth above the platform on which the demagogue stands to prepare the hearts of the people for revolution.

And do we not all remember the Chartists' great and solemn procession, and the Iron Duke's great and wise precautions against riot and insurrection? And what has been done by England, since the days of the monster petition, to enrich her suffering masses, or at least to free them from that oppressive, enslaving poverty which maddens man and debases woman? Go to London. Visit Exeter Hall on the occasion of an annual jubilee for West India emancipation. Listen to British eloquence on the ruthless separation of man and wife under legalized sales of negroes in the Southern States of our confederation. Enquire of the orator why husbands and wives are likewise separated in British work-houses; he will inform you, that it is a *necessary part* of a great system for the public good. Listen to him, whilst he

enlarges upon the nullification of marriage, by the control which the planter exercises over his submissive female slaves. Then enquire of him whether the prostitutes of the great cities and principal towns of the United Kingdom do not outnumber its standing army. He will admit the undeniable fact, but will protest against the legitimacy of the allegation, that these things are so mainly because women cannot find work in Great Britain, except at starvation prices, and that

“ It’s oh ! to be a slave
Along with the barbarous Turk,
Where woman has never a soul to save,
If this is Christian work.”

Gentle reader, are you familiar with the works of Dickens? If you are, pray tell us the great staple of which they are composed. Is it not the *hopeless misery* of the masses of Great Britain? Have you forgotten “Hard Times,” and its poor creatures, to whom the world is always “a muddle?” Do you not remember “Trotty Veck,” and his conclusion that the poor are “born bad,” because they trouble the rich to take care of them? Can you ever forget that passage in “Bleak House,” in which, after having described the death of “poor Joe,” the author boldly apostrophises Queen, Lords and Commons—yea, all estates and conditions of comfortable people—in this noble strain: “Dead, your Majesty. Dead, my lords and gentlemen. Dead, Right Reverends and Wrong Reverends of every order. Dead, men and women, born with heavenly compassion in your hearts. And dying thus around us every day ;”—as though all the power, and intelligence, and humanity of the realm were assembled to consider that miserable death-bed, and to provide a just remedy for such fearful destitution?

“But that is only fiction,” some one will say. True, good friend; but a popular author cannot, without contradiction or protest, libel his own country, even in fiction. Mrs.

Beecher Stowe has libelled a part of her country, and the South has exclaimed against her injustice. Mr. Charles Dickens has drawn fearful pictures, not of alleged *sectional misery* in Great Britain, but of the plain and fearful prevalence of debasing want in city and country throughout the realm; and who, among his countrymen, has risen to *protest* against such exaggerated descriptions of the condition of the laboring masses? Nay, if any one should do so, he could easily be silenced on testimony collected by parliamentary committees, or by investigating philanthropists in Great Britain.

And now let us turn to Ireland, of whose unhappy condition we find, in one of her journals, the following account, dated not many months ago:

"In an article headed 'Flying,' the *Nation* thus vents its grief: 'They are flying: through Dublin our flying people pour daily in weeping crowds. For years our streets have not beheld such scenes as those of the past week, though, alas! the ebb of population has not wholly ceased for a quarter of a century. Long lines of woful faces, strangely mocking the holiday attire in which the poor creatures attire themselves, as they quit forever their fathers' clay; caravans of vehicles, piled with the bright-red painted boxes and trunks, with owners' names marked rudely on the fronts; aged women, with hair white as the hoar of December; old men, bent and broken by sixty years of toil in furrow and trench; young men, who try to look hopeful that the mother may weep the less; young women, feeling all the more deeply, as women do, at rending the thousand silent ties that link them to home; while children, too young to know the cause of all the sorrow they see on every face, are only delighted with the wonders of the great big streets through which they pass.

"Away, away, away—and not willingly or happily. They are not a nomad race. It is not an Arab community that has struck the tent-poles; they are not dull-hearted, plodding Saxon people, who for a meal more in the mouth

would cross the globe itself, and call it folly to feel less at home in Kamschatka than in the land where their fathers' ashes for centuries repose. No, no; these are a people whose very heart-strings are wrung by the idea of eternal exile; a people who, almost to a fault—if a virtue so beautiful could ever be a fault—cling to the ancestral home; a people who, if they could but live—if they could but eat an humble crust, broken amid the hardest toil—in Ireland, the land of their hearts' affections, would deem it sweeter than the bread of luxury in a foreign clime. Away, away, away! Men thought it had ceased, this terrible exodus; they thought this fearful hæmorrhage had ceased to drain the life-blood of our country. But here it is, full upon us again; the wails are rising once more in every village. Whole communities are quitting forever, in sorrow and despair, a land for which they would freely die.'"

Gentle reader, if you are an anti-slavery agitator, pray draw upon your imagination for something in the way of negro auctions, which shall equal in horrors the sober facts of an Irish exodus.

Now, do not tell us that two wrongs do not make a right; that the oppressions of Great Britain upon her own poor and upon the Celts of Ireland, do not and cannot justify the oppressions of America upon African slaves. We seek no such justification for slavery. We are of the number of those, who conceive that there is a vast difference between social evils and personal wrongs. That the degrading poverty of vast masses of Great Britain is *a great social evil* is certain; but no man can say that the members of those masses endure any personal wrong. They are fully protected in their every right by English law; but they are *too many for the land in which they dwell*. In other words, the social evil of Great Britain is a redundant population for present means of subsistence, and neither parliaments nor philanthropy can provide a remedy for that evil. So also in Ireland. There is no personal wrong done to any Celt: but the race to which he belongs *cannot compete in*

industry and energy with the Anglo-Saxon race, which has peacefully and lawfully colonized the Emerald Isle; and therefore we beheld now, as we did some years ago, the miseries of precipitate emigration by vast masses of Irishry, whom a recent crisis has taught that they must fly elsewhere to live. And in respect to the Africans in bondage in our Southern States, we beg leave to say, that in the providence of Almighty God, *they have been transplanted from the tropics in which they might have lived indolently, into temperate latitudes, where they must starve if they are not compelled to work.* We admit that the compulsory labor, or in other words the slavery of the transplanted race is a great social evil; but we do not see that it is possible to do otherwise than enforce that labor, for we cannot change the Ethiopian's skin, nor eradicate his indolence, which is more than skin-deep, and which is so thoroughly constitutional with him, that it precludes the possibility of his living without a master in temperate latitudes. He is but a lazy overgrown child. All that the people of the United States can do for him, is to endeavor to make his relations to his master approximate to the relations of the child to the parent. And here we may remark that the large, densely-crowded cities of the North furnish to an observant and dispassionate eye more cases of children morally abused and systematically depraved by their own parents than the plantations of the South would present of slaves morally abused and systematically depraved by their masters. Any City Missionary or Benevolent Society's Visitor, can give fearful facts as to the abuse of the parental relation by the vicious and degraded of Bedford Street, in Philadelphia, or the Five Points, in New York, or Fort Hill, in Boston; and yet no one is bold enough to draw the conclusion that such *exceptional cases* prove that the parental relation is *founded in injustice and wrong.*

All that we have just advanced as the true and necessary cause of the continued slavery of the African race in the United States falls to the ground, unless we prove the in-

capacity of that race to be self-sustaining in our land in a condition of freedom. And on this point we are quite willing to judge of the whole race on the evidence which is afforded by the lives and habits of that fractional part, which we have in our midst, as freemen in the North. In speaking of those freemen we will not even require allowance for the fact that many of them are by no means of purely African descent, and that some of them have a great predominance of Anglo-Saxon blood in their veins. We will simply enquire, what are their pursuits? Do they labor in productive industry, or do they simply minister to luxury? The answer is plain. No one can find *laborious* blacks in any free State. So great is their aversion to labor, that the entrance of free blacks into some of our Western States is prohibited by law. The existence of such laws implies plainly two things: 1. That they are an idle race, tending to pauperism. 2. That they are not *citizens of the United States*; otherwise their passage from one State into another State could not lawfully be prohibited. In view of such anti-African legislation by Western States, let us have no more Northern twaddle about the enormities of the Dred Scott decision, which did nothing more than to affirm what the legislatures of border States have for many years past quietly assumed as a constitutional axiom, or at least a postulate.

But to consider free blacks more in detail. The writer was born and brought up in Philadelphia, a city where there is no prejudice against them, and where they thrive and prosper more abundantly than in any other part of the United States. The colored population of our city is probably twenty-five thousand, or about five per cent. of the total number of its inhabitants. Now how do they live? A few of the poorest amongst them are hod-carriers to bricklayers; the rest hardly work at all, except as ministers to the luxury, or gatherers of the spare material of a large city. The men are barbers, public and private waiters, coachmen, venders and scourers of cast-off clothing,

porters,—any thing in short but common laborers or mechanics. They neither dig cellars, nor wheel coal, nor stow away heavy goods, nor exercise trades as carpenters, or machinists, or painters, or paper-hangers, or factory-workmen. The women are cooks and washerwomen of the highest grade, particularly in the last named department of ministry to luxurious living. But, gentle reader, if you have travelled as much through free States as the writer has done, and have, like him failed to find blacks *producing* any thing whatever in any State, whether they be living in the city or in the country, you should already, on principles of common sense, have come to his conclusion, which is this: that any great or sudden addition to the number of free blacks in the United States would of necessity pauperize the whole of that class of our population, and lead to incalculable suffering amongst them. A great city like Philadelphia can maintain on the service of its personal luxury, twenty-five thousand blacks, or five per cent. of its entire population: but suppose that their number were doubled or trebled, so as to be abruptly increased to ten or fifteen per cent. on that population, do you suppose that our city, or any other northern city could afford employment to such a percentage of loungers-about for a job? And what city of the Union would receive and maintain them as *paupers* and for that pseudo-philanthropic end and object oppressively increase taxation upon its white population? Certainly we may affirm that Boston, philo-African Boston, would not do so. She has always been remarkable for her dislike to any taxation which yields no equivalent benefit. On this principle, she got up a great tea party at Liverpool wharf, in the days of 1776; and on the same principle, a few years ago, she sent back to his father-land, a poor old Irish gentleman, sick and crazy, who, at the solicitation of his friends, had left his country for his country's good, choosing rather to be a pauper in New England, than a pauper in old Ireland. The Sons of the Pilgrim fathers were wise in counsel of this world, and prompt in action respecting a *single*

insane pauper from Ireland; and we very much fear, that if *African paupers* should flood them, and require at their hands practical tax-paying friendship, it would be found that the negro had counted without his host. It is pleasant to denounce slavery and to talk about the propriety of our eagle carrying with it freedom as "the general, normal, enduring and permanent condition of society within the jurisdiction and under the authority of the Constitution of the United States." All this is philanthropic and it costs nothing. But to maintain a crowd of shivering, shiftless, thoughtless, useless blacks! Aye there would be the rub, people of New England, if you should ever accomplish your cruel scheme of compelling the white man in the southern border States to emancipate the negro. If you shall once succeed in making slaves such a burden that many masters shall, with one consent, break their fetters, do you suppose that their former masters will keep within their own borders as *free paupers* those very blacks whom they will then have liberated, simply, because they could not turn their services to good account? Be not deceived. The people of the South understand fully the social evils, the disabling influences of their "peculiar institution." The Virginian knows full well that the Old Dominion is daily waxing older and more feeble, relatively to other great sea-board States, simply because the presence of negro slaves hinders her from developing her great agricultural and mineral wealth. He will inform you, and inform you truly, that her coal-fields are quite equal in extent to those of Pennsylvania; but that negroes are incapable of the persistent labor, and systematic skill which daily load the railways and the canals of the Keystone State with black-diamonds. The North Carolinian can add his testimony as to the marvellous power of the African bondsman to hide internal wealth, to check the productive industry of native whites, and to repel the emigration of skill-laborers from the North. Maryland, Delaware, Tennessee and Kentucky, impatiently tolerate the incubus of slavery upon every

member of their bodies politic. Does any one suppose that the States of which we have just spoken can be or should be well affected towards free blacks? It is not slavery *per se* that degrades labor in the eyes of the white man south of Mason and Dixon's line. The reason why labor is there lightly esteemed, is, because the slave that performs it is a negro, *a man of inferior race*. When he shall have become unprofitable as a slave, he will be summarily expelled as a non-producer and a costly cumberer of the ground. And now, people of the North generally, and of New England particularly, will you be ready, in the hour of need, to receive the exiles whom free-soil agitation may throw in large numbers upon your hands, sooner than you suppose?

But some one will say that there is an abundance of cheap and good soil in almost every free State of the Union, and that in such an event as extensive manumission, the enfranchised negroes need not crowd our cities, but might easily, with a little philanthropic aid, settle upon their own homesteads in the country. The suggestion, good friend, is simply ridiculous. Did you, did *any one*, ever see a *negro farmer*? It is safe to affirm, that the blacks in the free States of our Union do not raise one bushel of grain for five hundred that they consume. Are you a political economist, man? And do you not know that the primal, distinctive principle of all prosperous, prevalent races of men is, that they love to eat bread grown under their own hands, and on their own soil? But the African comes not of such a race.

Such being our views, we are not shame-faced on account of African Slavery in the United States, as are the Sowards and Sumners of our day, when they meet British statesmen and philanthropists. We conceive, on the contrary, that an American may with much propriety address an Englishman in such terms as these: Somewhat less than a century ago, Great Britain had in her extensive dominions three races of men, whom she had grievously wronged, and whose future she seemed incapable of directing for good. She

had dragged the African from his home of tropical ease into bondage and rigorous servitude in the cold climate, and on the exacting soil of North America. She had infuriated the Irish Celt by military occupation of his soil and political proscription of his race. She had shed like water the blood of swarthy Indians whom Clive and Hastings had compelled to swear allegiance to her power, but whose bosoms still burned with inextinguishable hatred against their spoilers and oppressors. Here then were three great perplexities for the statesmen and the philanthropists of Great Britain. We have since that time relieved her of two of them. She has as yet failed to relieve herself of the third.

We say that we have relieved Great Britain of *two* of the above named perplexities. We took to our own account, in 1776, the colonies on which she had foisted African slaves, contrary to our desires, our views of right, our judgment of what was for our own good. But we have had time, since 1776, and Divine Providence has indicated to us ways of making the African a blessing, not only to the land in which he is comfortably domiciled, but to Great Britain herself. For what said Mr. Beecher Stowe, at Manchester, or some such cotton-spinning place, immediately after Mrs. Stowe's triumphant landing in England? "I see around me great prosperity; but, unhappily, that prosperity is to a great extent based upon *cotton*: and it is *demand for cotton* that makes the value of the slave, in the United States, fifteen hundred dollars." Good friend, that high price of the slave, which so greatly afflicted the heart of Mrs. Stowe's husband, is the best possible evidence to a well-ordered mind, not only of the productive power, but of the domestic comfort also of the poor African. Slaves are perishable property; and he who pays fifteen hundred dollars a-head for them, cannot afford to maltreat them. It is only in Cuba, where fresh importations from Africa are cheap, under Great Britain's lax interpretation and non-

enforcement of her stringent treaties with Spain about the slave trade, that slaves are worked to death.

So much for one of the perplexities of which we have relieved Great Britain. The other perplexity of which we claim to have relieved her—be not amazed, British brother—is Ireland. What would have been the population, what would not have been the misery of Ireland at the present day, if the United States had not been open during two generations to emigration, and full of work for emigrants? Consider, and admire, and rejoice in our smoothly-flowing canals and our noisy railways, oh Briton! whosoever thou art. They are the monuments of the enterprise of thy brother Jonathan, and the security of certain shares and bonds, on which thou payest no income-tax to thine own government. But more than all, they are the work of hundreds of thousands of Celtic hands which longed to grasp the insurrectionary pike in Ireland, but which have gladly taken up the peaceful spade in America. Have we not greatly relieved thee of perplexity in the matter of rebellious Ireland?

And how far hast thou relieved or acquitted thyself in respect to the poor Indian? It is not long since the press of the civilized world was teeming with the fresh horrors of a Sepoy insurrection. It seemed as though the sons of Shem had risen in their might, and were about to trample down, in their fury, the small band of Englishmen who, in the name of the bold race of Japhet, were endeavoring to maintain such extensive Eastern dominions. The struggle of the conflicting races was fearful, and the warfare between them was merciless on either side. Close upon the heathen atrocities of the Sepoy insurrection came the Christian atrocities of British revenge. We do not speak, here, of the general refusal of customary quarter to "the niggers," as the English soldiery freely called them. War is a demonizing trade, and we can read with some allowance the records of the passionate and unsparing revenge of the common soldier, or even of the officer of ordinary rank. But we cannot make, and we do not wish to learn

to make allowance for barbarous, cold-blooded executions of Sepoys by high military authority. We were horrified to read, and we are still horrified to remember, that convicted rebels were blown away *at the cannon's mouth*, in order to impress with salutary awe their countrymen, who were compelled to witness their executions, and whose tawny skins are said to have become livid with terror at the sickening sight. British brother! go to Exeter Hall, and tell your countrymen, plainly, that if such atrocities prove to Indian minds that your government is strong, they also prove to the same minds that your religion is not "peace on earth, good will towards men."

"What was the cause of that Sepoy insurrection?" "An injudicious military order," you will reply, "*involving a question of conscience about grease.*" Do you believe such nonsense, although it be soberly endorsed by the dignitaries and high functionaries of British India? Did you ever read certain investigations about the collection of revenue in British India? Those investigations were made by order of Parliament some years before the breaking out of the insurrection, and were epitomized in British newspapers which have considerable circulation in the United States. On the testimony therein set forth, we learned that certain capitalists of Indian race were extensive farmers of the revenue, and that one of those who thus collected revenue in the name and by the authority of the East India Company, that is to say of Great Britain herself, had a huge pair of boots, in which he kept sundry wild cats. "For what purpose?" you will enquire. Simply to afflict the legs of his fellow Indians, which were thrust thereinto whenever they could not or would not pay taxes. Another of those Indian agents of the British government went literally to the opposite extreme with his recusant countrymen, and tied them up by the hair of the head. Now, we simple-minded Americans, consider an Indian insurrection to have been the natural result of such frightful misgovernment. We are even disposed to think that your way of taking upon your-

selves an Indian empire, about a century ago, has never, as yet, been completely justified to Indian minds. We have no doubt that you have told them repeatedly, that Lord Clive was called to account in the House of Lords, on the score of his private rapacity, and that you caused Warren Hastings to be impeached for his cruelty by the greatest orators of the eighteenth century. But inasmuch as you did not really punish either of those unscrupulous great men, and inasmuch as you have lucratively occupied all the conquests which they made, and have even greatly added, during the nineteenth century, in the same rapacious way to your Indian empire, it may reasonably be presumed that the Indian mind is very much perplexed to understand the heights and depths of the morality of the British Government. Good friend, do you think that Great Britain has done as much since the days of 1776, to heal the wounds of India, as we have done to repair the wrongs of the African race? Go to the South. See those sunny black faces. Listen to those musical negro voices chanting the praises of our God and Saviour, whom they worship in great congregations. Look upon that dark-skinned nursing mother. Does she not love, and fondly caress the white child which she suckles for her mistress? Can you show such harmony of races, such a total absence of soldiers to keep down insurrection, in India?

"But Jamaica," you reply. Oh, yes, Jamaica, we rejoin. Jamaica must not be forgotten. Now, good friend, it happens most unfortunately that you Englishmen differ greatly amongst yourselves as to the results of your great experiment in Jamaica. The orators of Exeter Hall say it is a great success. The columns of the London Times tell a very different story. Planters, who have been ruined by the depreciation of property, groan. New men, who have purchased estates at a great sacrifice, say that everything is as it should be. In fact, it is just as impossible to get concordant testimony about emancipation in Jamaica, as it is to get agreement of view about the operation of a tariff in the

United States. The only feasible way to decide such a tedious controversy is that of the Knickerbocker justice of the peace, who *weighed* the testimony on both sides of a great suit, and found that the scales were even.

But suppose that you should prove the success of emancipation in Jamaica, that success would not be relevant to the question of slavery in the United States. Jamaica has a tropical climate, whilst the slave territory of the United States lies almost entirely in the temperate zone. We do not dispute, on the contrary we freely admit, the ability of the tropical African to pick up a subsistence as a freeman in a tropical climate. He was formed for residence in such a climate by an All-wise hand, which adapts each family of His creation to its proper habitation. In such a climate luxuriant nature affords sustenance to man almost without toil. No one need, therefore, consider it to be a grand achievement of British philanthropy, that enfranchised Africans can, without danger of starvation, lead lounging lives on the bountiful soil and under the burning sun of Jamaica. But what has such African life in Jamaica in common with African life in those latitudes of the United States, which know the winter's cold as well as the summer's heat, and which produce bread to strengthen the industrious husbandman's heart, rather than spontaneous fruit for the refreshment of idle dwellers in the land? Therefore, good Briton, forbear to quote effected emancipation in tropical Jamaica as an encouragement to attempt emancipation in temperate North America.

And thou mayest all the more properly thus forbear, because it is plain enough that after all there is certainly *something wrong* about Jamaica. It is confessed on all hands that the island has, since emancipation, had *very little surplus production of sugar to export*. The friends of emancipation say, that this want of exportable wealth is abundantly balanced by internal prosperity. The explanation seems vague, until it is translated into plain language, in which it means that the blacks are comfortable and inde-

pendent of control and work—that they eat the fat of the land, and are its virtual owners, in indolence accordant with their African constitution. In a word, the island has been given up to them; and yet Englishmen are a money-making race, as colonists throughout the world, and they have therefore concluded that Jamaica must not be sacrificed in toto. They have consequently devised the importation of Coolies, whose service to them shall gradually make the proprietary of the island independent of the free African race, and of the unreasonable demands of that race for little work and much pay.

Now we have a word to say, good Briton, about the Coolie system. If ever a remedy was worse than the disease, it is so in the present instance of the importation of Asiatics into the West Indies. We do not purpose to dwell on the frauds, or even on the personal compulsion, by which it is credibly alleged that the poor fellows are drawn into one-sided contracts with heartless speculators on their money-value as laborers; nor do we intend to institute a comparison between your Coolie emigrant-ships and the slavers, which there is too good reason to say that those emigrant-ships closely resemble, in all points that concern health, comfort, decency, and care of the lives of the unfortunates in either case. We are willing to suppose, gratuitously, that your Coolies have been fairly gotten in the land of their birth, and humanely transported to the land where their labor is desired. But, good Briton, nearly the whole of your importations into your West India possessions are *males only*—males of a most licentious race. Have you considered the moral, or rather the immoral, tendencies of such immigration,—the necessary consequences of the influx of hundreds and thousands of sensual male Asiatics, without wives, and without conscience as to abominations of which it is a shame even to speak? And do you suppose that domestic happiness and female virtue amongst your enfranchised Africans will be increased under the reign of free-love laborers?

One of the primal Divine utterances, in respect to the sons of men, is the declaration that ‘it is not good for *the man to be alone.*’ That declaration was made whilst the man was yet in the innocence of Paradise; and all Divine revelation, as well as all history, sacred and profane, since the fall, adds solemn confirmation to the vast moral evils of neglect to heed the law that ‘every man have his own wife and every woman have her own husband.’ Celibacy, as a religious vow or ordinance, has consequently come to be esteemed by Protestants an unsuccessful and most pernicious fraud on the nature which God has given to man. In proof of their views, they appeal to facts in respect to priestly, monastic and conventual life, which candid and intelligent members of the Church of Rome cannot gainsay nor contradict. The followers of the last-named communion admit that vows of religious celibacy are high and exceedingly difficult to observe; but they claim that the good of the Church of Christ requires such self-consecration, and that the grace of God is sufficient for those who have undertaken it in His strength. We do not stop to decide this endless difference of two great religious bodies. We advert to it only to remark, that the virtue which Protestants allege to be almost impossible for man thoroughly refined and christianized, and which Romanists admit to be exceedingly hard even for such an one, must be altogether impossible for semi-barbarous, half-heathen Coolies; and what language can sufficiently condemn an industrial system which tends to place Jamaica on the vile eminence of Sodom and Gomorrah? Do not, good brother, for a single moment suppose that the people of the United States of North America will imitate your pseudo-philanthropy in this matter.

And now our British brother is reduced to his last stronghold, which is our own Declaration of Independence. “He will take his stand,” he says, “on that singularly bold and able assertion of human rights, which is daily contradicted and violated by every slaveholder in the United States.” Well, good brother, it was a declaration of independence—

of the independence of a *nation*, and of its separation from another and a distant people from whom it had sprung, and to whom, except in numbers and in wealth, it was fully equal. Do you see a strong analogy between the men of 1776, whom your fathers could not subdue, and our African slaves, whom we can easily control? Is there not some difference between Anglo-Saxon resistance of oppression exercised by distant brethren, their simple equals as to race, and African impatience of the control of a household master of superior race? Does national independence, achieved by the former, justify insurrection for personal liberty by the latter? Oh, no; you understand full well the perfect absence of parallelism between the two cases. Our forefathers knew that by the help of Almighty God, and without much comfort from the mother country, they had gotten the mastery over the wilderness of the North American seaboard, and over the savages of that wilderness. Under their industrious hands, the newly subdued land was beginning to bloom as a garden; and that land was, in their judgment (which Divine Providence soon ratified), their own rightful possession, free from the control of a non-resident sovereign and a distant and ill-informed legislature. And what does the African slave of our day know? Simply that he is a comfortable day-laborer, directed by the intelligence of his master, and that he has not himself the faculties requisite for the supply of his own wants in that state of freedom into which he sometimes wanders in dreams. Now we must insist that there is a difference between two such cases.

And what if Mr. Jefferson, who was not much more than thirty years of age when he drafted our Declaration, became somewhat oratorical in the outset, and affirmed "that *all* men are created *equal*," and "endowed" with "unalienable rights" of "life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness?" Did any one ever pretend that he was *inspired*? Are we people of the United States bound to all possible extreme inferences and consequences from each and every word of

his text? By no means. We are, one and all, perfectly free to modify those vague principles and general observations about *liberty in the abstract*, with which he prefaced his otherwise admirable *practical summary* of grievances and declaration of rights. All that we are held to is the *spirit of 1776*; and that spirit, rightly interpreted, is this: "that they who know how to build up for themselves shall enjoy in their own right, or, in other words, be independent." There is a vast gulf between that spirit of 1776, and the spirit of the men of the Mountain, who desolated France a few years later, and the spirit of the Jacobins, who simultaneously agitated Ireland, and the spirit of the revolutionists who have lately convulsed Europe, and the spirit of the abolitionists who now seek to convulse the United States. The gulf of which we speak is as broad as is the *difference between edification and destruction*. Therefore, good Briton, believe not every revolutionary spirit, but try the spirits of what sort they are.

Having thus disposed of that public opinion in Great Britain, which the humanitarian Sumners and the political Swards of our day so greatly fear, and which the English Brougham has recently so politely expressed, we return to Mr. Seward's argument at Detroit.

The premises of Mr. Seward's argument have, to our mind, the least possible relevancy to his conclusion. Those premises, divested of all coloring by his peculiar prejudices, amount simply to this historical fact, which no one can deny, viz., "that, beginning with the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida, each successive addition to our territorial possessions has awakened a fresh and increasingly violent controversy as to the area of slavery." From these undeniable premises, he abruptly jumps to the conclusion that slavery must "be confined within the Slave States where it already exists."

Mr. Seward's way of settling the controversy plainly assumes that all the right has always been and still is on one side, which has at length become weary of making

concessions to the other side. In his view, the Missouri Compromise was a weak and injudicious divergence from the ways of our forefathers, the Compromise of 1850 was a greater divergence, and the subsequent repeal of the Missouri Compromise was the superlative degree of divergence. He therefore gives us due notice that the patience of free-soilers is thoroughly exhausted, and that the *number fifteen* is the final and perfect number of slave States.

Such being the Republican platform, it is quite immaterial to the slaveholding States of the Union, whether that party shall or shall not be successful in the present Presidential canvass. It is enough for those States to know that the doctrines of Mr. Seward seem to be increasingly popular in the North, and that there is an even chance that a candidate of such views will carry an election in 1864, or 1868, even if he fail in 1860. They know full well that such a sectional basis for a canvass would have had, ten years ago, but a few feeble and crazy supporters, and they therefore have rightly concluded that they have no time to lose in making a decided and final stand against Northern denial of their rights.

And now, what are those rights? They have been greatly mystified by politicians and lawyers; but a child can understand them. After the achievement of independence on Great Britain, thirteen States, *of which twelve were slaveholding*, adopted a Constitution. That Constitution recognized the lawfulness of slavery, not by formal statements, which would have been gratuitous verbiage at a time when all the States except one were slaveholding, but by provisions which implied that a slave population existed, without any choice of our forefathers, and must be dealt with as *part and parcel of the institutions of the country*. Consequently representatives and direct taxes were ordered to be apportioned on a basis which implied that the productive value of a slave is to that of a freeman as three are to five. There was also a provision for rendition to service

of any slave who might escape from one State into another State.

Slavery was not at that time a sectional interest, nor was it a profitable institution in any State, although the increasing population of slaves in certain States showed that those States could turn African labor to some account. Its extension, therefore, was generally deprecated on the simple ground that it was a system that tended to pauperism.

It appears, as we remarked in the outset of this discussion, that our forefathers were quite mistaken in the opinion that African slaves would continue to be a hopeless burden on the United States. In our day their productive power in cotton and sugar has become so great, that our great Republican has proclaimed that an irrepressible conflict exists between their labor and the labor of the free white man. In other words, he proposes to forbid the extension of slavery on the ground that it is *too profitable* to the States in which it exists.

The animus of Mr. Seward's advice, "to return and re-establish the original policy of the nation," is, therefore, sectional jealousy. It is not humane regard for the negro, nor is it patriotic concern for the pauperizing influence of the presence of the African slave. It is simply Northern dollar and cent policy against Southern dollar and cent interest. That divergence, or deviation from the ways of our forefathers which he pathetically laments, is simply the profitableness of slave property for certain uses, and its consequent extension of room in our day and generation. The South has nourished and brought up dark-skinned children, and she is rapidly increasing every year in wealth, on their plantation-labor, which the intelligence of the white man directs. It is true that the presence of the foreign race hinders the developement of mining and manufacturing interests, and the success of small farming, shop-keeping, and other suitable employments in the South for certain classes of white men whose only capital is the skill and labor of their hands. It is true that the whole North feels

the benefits of Southern purchases of the many goods and commodities which slave States hardly attempt to produce for themselves. But, with all these drawbacks, the South is thriving, and her progress in the beneficial use of slaves must be arrested. So says our Republican adviser, and he therefore counsels inflexible restriction of the limits of slavery.

We will do him the justice to say that his policy, if it could be carried out, would rapidly undermine and eventually destroy the prosperity of the South. The African race, which there aggregates now about four millions, will, within the present century, probably have increased to ten millions. Within that period the predominance of interests to which the presence of African laborers is adverse, will probably have banished slavery from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina,—from all those border States, in a word, which have great mining, farming and manufacturing advantages now, *in posse* and not *in esse*, in capability and not in development, simply because the “peculiar institution” hinders the development of such advantages, however great. Under prohibition of the passage of slaves into territories to be hereafter organized, there would soon be a redundant, and, therefore, an unprofitable and wretched African population in the existing limited cotton and sugar States, and the price of the slave would soon decline to such a point as might satisfy even the scrupulous mind of Mrs. Beecher Stowe’s husband.

But our Southern brethren have no notion of first losing their strength and then begging for their rights. They mean to ask those rights without delay, even now, in the fulness of their power and their prosperity.

Those rights are co-extensive with the territories or common property of the United States. They are founded on a constitution which African slavery underlies as plainly as depravity underlies the moral constitution of man. Our forefathers were not speculative philosophers, nor pretentious philanthropists. They therefore framed a constitution suitable for the United States *as they were, slavery included,*

and not for the United States as they should have been, if Great Britain had left the colonies free to choose for themselves in the matter of a supply of laborers. That constitution has never been changed in this particular, although many States, some free States, others slave States, have been added to the original thirteen which adopted the same; twelve of them, be it remembered, being slaveholding States at that time. It is not in the power of Congress, it is not in the power of the Supreme Court of the United States, nor, least of all, is it in the power of the people, or of the legislature of any territory, to restrict the movements of the slaveholder within the territory or common property of the Union.

Mr. Seward is keenly alive to divergence from the ways of our forefathers to the profit of the South. Why is he not equally sharp-sighted and equally strenuous as to divergence from the ways of our forefathers to the profit, the great and manifest profit, of the North? Does he not know that, beginning with the date of the Missouri Compromise, which he calls the date of divergence in favor of the South, the resources and productive powers of the North have been quintupled? And by what means? Not by the toil of the hardy hands of the Northern sons of Revolutionary sires, but by the toil of European immigrants, and of the sons and daughters of those immigrants, whose common, hard, or menial labor we direct by our intelligence, but seldom assist with our own hands. And does he not also know that our forefathers greatly apprehended the consequences that must flow with such immigration into the United States? The works of Mr. Jefferson and his contemporaries show that their wisdom was quite as much at fault in respect to the effects of an influx of emigrants, as it was in respect to the employment of an African slave population. They had no far-sighted vision of our present public improvements and expanding Western country, just as they had no vision or prophetic dream of our present cotton crop. They supposed, naturally enough,

that uneducated multitudes, flying from the famines or oppressions of monarchial Europe, would bring with them political and social vices which must unfit them for participation in a government in which the voice of the many is law. But Almighty God, in His gracious and wise providence, has, by the hands of those very immigrants, whom our forefathers would have called a dangerous class, made vast openings of what was wilderness, not only in 1776, or in 1787, but even in 1820. Yes; the changes of Northern and Northwestern States, since 1820, by railroads and canals, by soil cleared and subdued, by cities built and inhabited in exceeding great prosperity,—prosperity such as the sun never shone on before since the fall of Adam,—are wonderful; and they are mainly the effect of immigration, in respect to which we have, to the exceeding joy and satisfaction of Mr. Seward, diverged from the ways of our forefathers, having proved it to be profitable, just as we have proved African slavery to be profitable in another quarter of our happy land. We have learned to disregard the warnings of our forefathers about an influx of foreigners, as thoroughly as we set at nought their conclusions as to the unprofitableness of slaves of African extraction. Indeed, our present Chief Magistrate was carried into office over two competing candidates, one of whom represented Native Americanism, or opposition to immigration, whilst the other represented free-soilism, or opposition to the extension of the area of African slavery.

No one will deny that the benefits of immigration into the United States have inured mainly to the North. No one can deny, that there would have been no benefits, that, on the contrary, there would have been vast evils from that immigration, if the millions of immigrants, who, within the last forty years have landed on our shores had been restricted to our northern sea-board States as the bounds of their habitation. Pauperism and crime would long since have been rife from Maine to Delaware, amongst a foreign population so restricted as to the soil on which they should

settle ; and northern lovers of their own Commonwealths—such men as Mr. Seward for example, would, under the pressure of such an evil, have been willing to adopt any measures, however extreme, to roll back to Europe the destructive human flood which was coursing over the broad Atlantic. Gentle reader, you smile at this imaginary picture ; you say that such a restriction on immigrants as we have asked you to fancy, has not even been proposed by any one ; you say that the West, our great national territory, has afforded abundance of soil and abundance of work for all that have come, that millions from over-peopled Europe have landed on our blessed shores, and that there is room for millions more, and in all this you are quite right. We fully agree with you. Nay, we go beyond you, for we sometimes imagine that our country is portended by that vision in the Book of Revelations, in which the beloved Disciple saw “a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars,” who “brought forth a man-child which was to rule all nations with a rod of iron,” “and to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness from the face of the serpent, and the serpent cast out of his mouth water, (which in prophecy means *people*), as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood. And the earth, (that is *our extensive territory*) helped the woman and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth ;” or, in other words, the flood of immigration has not been felt otherwise than beneficially, simply because the immigrants have expatiated or scattered themselves over our vast Western country, which was quite a wilderness at the commencement of our alleged divergence in favor of the South, by means of a certain compromise in 1820. Immigration from Europe to the profit of the North began to be large about the same date. And we wish to know why a measure of restriction or exclusion from the common National territory, which no one ever contem-

plated or proposed in respect to immigrants coming from Europe, should, by the Republicans of our day be contemplated and proposed in respect to African slaves born on our own soil.

Sectional questions must ultimately be settled by a trial of relative sectional strength; and for good or for evil, God only knows which—the day of that trial has come exceeding near. Many public men, and many private citizens who do not appreciate the importance of the issue involved in a strongly supported Republican, that is to say, a sectional nomination, have proposed or assumed as feasible or probable various palliative measures for our present difficulties. One says, that a conservative cabinet will quiet the country; as if the South were simply desirous of providing employment for a few of her distinguished citizens at a few thousands per annum. Another affirms, that the whole of the questions in respect to the extension of slavery belong to the Supreme Court of the United States, and that North and South alike will unhesitatingly bow to the decision from time to time of that august tribunal; as if the Judges of that Court were intended to overrule the *madness of the people*, and not to decide *points of law*. Who does not know that those who now sit on the bench of that Court are men, resembling all other men, in that, they have *some political bias*, and in that they must die in their proper times and be succeeded by other men who may have *quite a different political bias*, because they will have been appointed under quite different political auspices? Another maintains, that the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty in the territories must ultimately prevail; as if children in a state of tutelage and maintained at the charge of a trust-estate were competent to proscribe and exclude the personal property and effects of nearly one-half of the guardians and legal trustees of that very industrial farm on which those children are undergoing an expensive training for self-government, which is to begin only when they shall have reached the state of manhood; or as if the necessary conse-

quence of that doctrine were not, as we unhesitatingly affirm it to be, that the polygamy of Mormonism is proper and lawful in Utah, because it is an institution which Popular Sovereignty has there established, and which the letter of the Constitution of the United States in no wise forbids. No, no, good people of the procrastinating, temporizing style of mind, such expedients for putting off the day of decision are too late. You may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. The doctrine of Popular Sovereignty in the territories is simply the device of an agitator. It makes every organized territory a sectional battle-ground, a soil from which a root of bitterness shall spring up to trouble us. We are weary of emigration societies which undertake to supply Bibles and Sharp's Revolvers, and which produce John Browns as the children of such unblessed amalgamation. We are weary of hearing of the Duchess of Sutherland's interest in bleeding Kansas, and of the contributions of the late Lady Byron to the good cause in that territory. Time was, within our brief memory, when the great Andrew Jackson objected strenuously to the peaceful Bank of the United States, that it was a political corporation in which *foreigners were simple shareholders*. Have we not greatly degenerated from his times and his temper, if we permit longer continuance of a sectional controversy which enlists the interest and commands the pecuniary aid of noble foreigners, male and female, who really have scope enough for charity at home?

Some distinguished lawyers seem to be much exercised in mind as to the kind of law by which slave property shall be governed in a territory which may not have already passed laws for the regulation of the same as recognized property within its borders. We must confess that we have never before heard of lawyers who deplored the wide range which litigation of any kind might take. Let no one however be disturbed in mind on this account. The great lawyers will do famously on cases of appeal to Washington from the territories, unless those territories shall speedily

cut off this source of profit by passing simple and sensible provisions, securing to the master of the slave all possible benefit from his servitude, and to the slave all comfort, and advantage not inconsistent with his obligation to that servitude. The obvious duty of each and every territory, to which slaveholders may at any time emigrate, is to secure the happiness of its whole population by such legislation as shall make the relation of the slave to his master approximate as closely as possible to the relation of a child to its parent.

This necessary sanction of slavery by territories, is, however, the very issue which has been raised between New England and the South; and we are, therefore, thrown back upon the simple question of relative strength between the two sections which unhappily are at open variance in our day. Mr. Seward himself is with us, that is to say, of our mind, as to the hopelessness of all attempts to salve over our difficulties, for he says: "We have reached a point where, amid confusion, bewilderment and mutual recriminations, it seems alike impossible to go forward or to return."

And now, let us address ourselves to this question of relative strength. And first we beg to premise by assuring our brethren of the South that their strength is to sit still in quietness and confidence of a happy result which hardly anything short of gratuitous folly or hot haste on their own part can frustrate, or even delay for many months. There has already come forth from the daily issues of their press, a great amount of gunpowderish paper, which is more worthy of the Celestial Empire than of the birth-place of Washington and Jefferson, or of the Pinckneys and Rutledge. We therefore think it well to remind them that *the first thing* at all events to be considered at such a juncture as the present, is not the presence of arms and ammunition, but the possession of internal wealth and of exportable commodities. The sectional struggle will take place not in tented fields, nor around beleaguered cities, but in merchants'

counting-houses and bankers' offices. It will be an affair of golden coin, and not of leaden bullets or iron bombs; and it will probably end, after much excitement and much suffering, without any bloodshed, in an amendment or rather a declaratory addition to the Constitution of the United States. That amendment will fully confirm and guaranty the territorial rights of the slaveholder; and its adoption will necessarily make an end of agitation; and the end of agitation is what all but a very few of the citizens of the United States desire to see.

On the question of relative strength, we reason thus. The parties in controversy are cotton-spinning States and cotton-growing States; which of the two is the richer class of States? It is New England arrayed against the South, and warped by prejudice and false doctrine against the manifest rights of the South; and the South has distinctly avowed her preference to go out of the Union, and in that outside position to maintain her rights, rather than to remain in the Union without her rights. The South is, therefore, spoken of as contemplating secession; and unfortunately her own speech at this crisis is thickly interlarded with that threatening and distasteful word. Now, it often happens in this world of wrongs and errors, that he who in precipitate anger and alarm threatens to cut short by violence, an injustice attempted to be practised upon him and from which the common interest of society must and will protect him; it often happens, we say, that such an one by his intemperate heat, greatly prejudices his own cause. And such has been, in the Middle States, the influence of Southern threats of secession. Why should the South speak of secession at all? She is not dissatisfied with a Constitution which acknowledges and protects African slavery. If New England is dissatisfied with that Constitution, and if she must for conscience-sake have violence done to its plain meaning, *let her secede*. But where will she go? Towards what greater body will she gravitate after she shall have dis-severed herself from our great confederacy? She is not a

self-supporting country like old England. She does not, she cannot raise her own bread. She has no coal except in Rhode Island; and the peculiarity of Rhode Island coal is that it will not burn. She needs wool and she needs cotton, day by day, to keep her population employed in productive industry; and in respect to the production of wool, she does not at all compare with that great kingdom whose chancellor sits on a wool-sack, whilst she resembles that kingdom in her necessity of having slave-grown cotton. If her prejudices against the peculiar institution are so strong that she must depart from the confederation which sanctions that institution, let her prepare herself to follow the example of Tyre and Sidon in the days of King Herod, viz., to make her peace with the female successor of George the Third, and to secure some female Blastus, some lady of the bedchamber—the Duchess of Sutherland, for example—as her friend at court, in order that the land of the Pilgrim Fathers may be annexed to a land of bread and fuel, and be nourished by the Queen's country, that is to say, by Canada and the British Provinces.

Gentle reader, we have no prejudices against New England, nor against her people. We spend some weeks of every summer in idle, listless rumination upon the wonderful developments which New Englanders have made out of no other resources than their own ceaseless industry and indomitable energy. We stick our umbrella into the ground there, and at the depth of about an inch it comes upon solid rock. There is no soil, and as for the subsoil, it is what geologists term a primary formation. We get into a railway car and are borne at thirty miles an hour amidst boulders which cover great tracts of land, and which Grecian mythology would have pointed out as evidence of a vast amount of stone-throwing amongst the giants and men of renown which were of old. We wonder who could have conceived the idea, and above all, who could have subscribed to the stock of the railroads which traverse the interior of such a country. We pass from the tracks of the roads thus constructed for

local accommodation, to the main seaboard line from Boston to Portland. We see lots of grass, a good many potatoes, but no grain, except buckwheat. We inquire what becomes of the grass, and are told that few of the inhabitants of the land require a servant, but that every man above the grade of a common laborer, must have *a horse to drive*. We inquire how the land pays for the bread and flesh which its inhabitants require from States that have been more highly favored in respect to soil and climate; how it pays for its fuel, domestic and steam-raising, which is brought from Pennsylvania and Maryland, for its wool from the West, and its cotton from the South; and the answer is, *by sales of manufactured goods*. We inquire next, whether goods are scarce, and we are told that they are in *very good demand*. We suggest that they consequently bring *cash*, or something closely approaching cash, as terms of payment. We find that we are considered an ignoramus on account of such an inexpressive suggestion. We listen respectfully to an explanation which develops the fact that between the mill in New England and the consumer in the South, or South-West, there is an aggregate of credits on dry goods, through commission houses, jobbers, and retailers, (each class naturally buying on the longest time, and selling on the shortest time it can command,) there is, we say, an average aggregate of credits on New England dry goods of considerably more than a year. Ignoramus as we are, we conclude that dry goods are not scarce, except in the same sense in which fancy stocks are scarce when money is easy; that, on the contrary, they are in superabundant supply; and that if the spindles of New England were stopped for a year by a great political and financial difficulty, there would be cassimeres and Kentucky jeans, and prints, and mousselines de laines, and Bay State shawls enough for the backs and pockets of the West and South-West during a twelve-month of contraction of the currency to a specie-basis, under an alarm about disunion and secession. In such a supposed and quite supposable state of things, how could the present population of New England

live? The days of sparse settlements, and of fondness for codfish have gone by, and her people in their hearts prefer good food to anti-slavery sentiment.

"God made the country, man the town," said some one. We may add that all the wealth of New England is almost as artificial an affair, and that her whole population is about as dependent on trade for bread to eat as is the good city of Philadelphia, in which we sit whilst we pen these remarks. "They are a shop-keeping people," as the great Napoleon said of the English, when he proposed to ruin Great Britain by the exclusion of her fabrics from the Continent. His arbitrary decrees against British commodities, might readily have brought even corn-growing Great Britain, to want of money, and to terms of peace with imperial France, if the profits of trade had not tempted Russia to brave the vengeance with which he might endeavor to visit an infraction of his anti-commercial policy. And it is in the power of the South, by simple financial pressure, to convey to New England in a few months hence, just such an understanding of her true position as she ought to have on a clear recollection of the financial panic of 1857, during which, week after week passed over the heads of many manufacturers without the sale of a single piece of goods. And how different at that time was the condition of the South? and how different must it always be under a state of monetary pressure? The great revulsion of 1857, which pervaded Europe as well as America, checked but slightly the prosperity of the cotton States. Why? Simply because cotton is an article of prime necessity in Europe as well as in America. The investments of Great Britain alone in the manufacture of cotton, are seven hundred and fifty millions of dollars, which is nearly equal to one-fifth of her great national debt; and the population which that manufacture employs is estimated at five millions, or nearly one-fifth of the population of the island. And even without such British, or other foreign demand for her great staple, the South could feed upon her own agricultural resources, could import some

luxuries for the use of her whites, and could produce by domestic labor the coarse and simple clothing which a population of African slaves, requires. We, therefore, see no practical difficulty in rebuking, without delay, that dangerous ascendancy of New England prejudice, which has shaken confidence, and marred fraternal concord in our land.

Some persons may suppose that the great Commonwealths of New York and Pennsylvania have Republican proclivities, and will back up New England against the South. The writer is penning these pages before the election, but he is bold to say that, let it go as it may, the people of his native State will, in the day of trial, treat the imaginary equality of the negro as a ridiculous abstraction, in behalf of which no one is willing to do more than to attend a political meeting, and there huzzah at the right time, in hope of getting a tariff amidst the disruption of old political parties. We are not enthusiasts, nor fanatics, hereabouts. We have seen the blacks from childhood, free blacks, lazy blacks, good-humored and very serviceable, but hardly our equals. Moreover, we make no money out of New England, although she has shrewdness enough to make our merchants pack-horses to carry her goods to the West and South-West, and has, by her commission agents in our midst, the virtual control of many of our banks, to the injury of those institutions, and of our own community alike. We had good-reason to conclude amidst the developments of insolvency, secret as well as open, which 1857 made in our midst, that our commission business for New England benefits her, and impoverishes us; that she gets our negotiable paper and turns it into money to pay for her cotton, and to scatter in wages amongst her own population, whilst we are left during distress for money, high and dry, without cash or comfort from Western or South-Western shopkeepers, whom we have industriously drummed up as customers for those goods on terms of payment virtually "at their own convenience." We have become convinced that New England has so much need of profit from manufactured goods, her almost exclu-

sive resource and means of living, that she cannot spare a good living out of those goods to Philadelphia, or any other city of the Middle States; and what we say in respect to Philadelphia, well-informed merchants of New York will confirm in respect to the commercial metropolis, which lives richly, not on the manufactured products of New England, but on the agricultural resources of the West, and the raw material of the South; and as for the *State of New York*, she must follow the lead and interest of *the City of New York* on any question which involves profit and loss. The whole commercial and banking system of the Empire State hangs upon the metropolis. So long as the great city stands erect, the interior of the Commonwealth is solvent and prosperous; but when, as in 1857, the commercial centre staggers, a far greater trembling pervades every channel of her circulation, and paralyzes every movement of her members.

In speaking of New England's industry, we have dwelt mainly on her dry-goods as being her chief production. The commercial position of her boots and shoes, her hats, her hardware, and her notions generally, is not materially different from that of her dry-goods. Nearly all that she produces is for sale on long and easy credits, within the borders of the United States. She has little export-demand for the bulk of her commodities; and most of her citizens consider some incidental protection by means of a tariff for revenue an almost indispensable prop of their manufacturing prosperity. Now it seems to us, that a land thus dependent on good will from, and exchange of commodities with other States of the Union, should understand her own interest too well to endeavor to exalt her pseudo-philanthropic prejudices over the manifest rights of States, which can easily raise all their own bread, which have abundant stores of coal and iron ready for development, and which have cotton, *a cash article*, in monstrous excess over all reasonable wants of their population for manufactured goods, of any and of every sort.

We think that we may confidently look for no other

warfare from our great sectional feud, than that civil and financial one, in which we have endeavored to show, that one of the combatants will be found to be surprisingly weak, whilst the other is surprisingly strong. We therefore respectfully suggest that our British brethren need not consider us as near the very throes of dissolution. We especially desire to calm the nerves of Lord Grey, who not long ago undertook to prove to an attentive house, that too many voters would shortly be the uncontrollable instrument of ruin in the United States. His Lordship had probably forgotten, that about thirty years ago, under the ministry of a certain Earl Grey, (his own father perhaps,) Great Britain was supposed to be on the verge of revolution, because an extension of suffrage, or in other words, the great Reform Bill, was negatived in the House of Lords. The people of Great Britain, the great mass of her commercial and manufacturing citizens, were determined to be represented in Parliament. Such men as Grey, and Russell, and Brougham, and Macaulay, had declared that "*through* Parliament, or *over* Parliament" the reform bill should and would be carried. But the Lords were *not content* for all that. They stood upon their prerogative as a distinct and independent branch of the legislature; and they declined to confirm the bill which the Commons had passed. During several days, the two houses stood apart, in hopeless and apparently irreconcilable opposition; and the mighty trade of London stagnated, and was about to pass into wild panic under the dread of revolution. But the ministers of the Crown adopted a simple and wise, though confessedly an extreme measure. Earl Grey quietly informed those Lords who were most strenuous as to their right of defeating the Reform Bill, that the Crown possessed the right of creating more peers; that under a whig administration, whigs would naturally fill any new peerages which the Crown might erect; and that it was easy for their lordships to see, that a certain number of new whig peers would turn the scale in their house. On this hint their lordships permitted the

Reform Bill to pass. We will only add that in all constitutional governments, there are safety-valves, and happily for us, our country would, even in the contingency of Mr. Lincoln's election, sink into perfect repose upon the adoption of such a declaratory amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as that which we have suggested. "Equal and indefeasible right in the territories," is all that the South asks.

We have thus endeavored to show that Mr. Seward has given his countrymen very poor advice. We, however, agree with him, as we have already said, in his premises, which are virtually these, that "beginning with the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida, each successive addition to our territorial possessions has awakened a fresh and increasingly violent controversy as to the area of slavery;" and we will therefore endeavor to correct his advice. The conclusion which we derive from such premises and from the history on which they are based, is that we have gotten territory in advance of our wants, injudiciously, and even wrongfully, to a great extent; and therefore, that abstinence from further acquisition of territory, on any pretext whatever, is the manifest present duty and highest interest of a people for whose posterity to the third generation, with a large addition of immigrants besides, there is ample room already provided, even in the liberal judgment of Mr. Seward.

The acquisition of Louisiana and Florida may have been necessary. We purchased them fairly and quarrelled over them bitterly, and came in 1820, to a quasi-settlement, known as the Missouri compromise. About fifteen years later, a lone star began to form itself on the nebulous border of Mexico. As a natural consequence came up a New England light, viz., Mr. John Quincy Adams, with his petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Then followed sectional withdrawal from the house, which resulted in another compromise on a finely-spun distinction as to the right of petition. Then in due time, Texas having shown herself to be a troublesome outsider, was smuggled

into the Union. History will not, we think, give pleasant or lofty names to the heroes of San Jacinto, and other illustrious Texan battle-grounds; and perhaps some future historian will venture to say that we admitted a territory stolen from Mexico, on a principle analogous to that which William of Orange alleged in support of his British crown. "*Recepi non rapui*," "I received it, I did not steal it," was the monarch's motto. "The receiver is as bad as the thief," was the ready comment of Swift.

We had hardly admitted Texas before we found that her southern boundary was obscure, and (what was still more tantalizing) *inconvenient* in view of a prosperous future, which would probably make a fine river like the Rio Grande del Norte desirable as our frontier. Accordingly Mr. President Polk pitched into the Mexican territory, and called the result "the existence of war by the act of Mexico." Supplies must be had for the war, and supplies were voted under a preamble which affirmed the existence of war *by the act of Mexico*; which was true in the letter, but false in the spirit of its asseveration. Did Mr. Seward vote for that bill? Did not Mr. Calhoun stand *alone* in the Senate in magnanimous refusal to be gagged? He was quite willing to vote for supplies, *for his country was at war*, and right or wrong, she was still his country; but he scorned to be coerced into endorsement of falsehood in the name of patriotism. He saw full well and he deprecated with mournful solemnity the adventurous career of wrongful conquest, in which his country had embarked, and of which, he added, no human eye could foresee the end. We honor him for his truthful courage on that trying day. It made large atonement for his rash advocacy of strange doctrine at an earlier period of his life.

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo came in due season, under the potent influence of weapons of iron and brass and silver and gold. We had gotten great possessions; and we immediately fell out as to the use that posterity, as well as the present generation, ought to make of the surplus means

or common and undivided fund of the great house of "Thirteen & Co," under the original partnership articles of the "Thirteen." On that controversy we have been engaged, with but little intermission, during more than ten years past; and the present aspect of the affair is certainly alarming. And what is still more alarming, is the fact that whilst we are evidently, in any calm judgment, laboring under a great indigestion of territory, men high in public position openly advocate further acquisition of that same indigestible article. They exhort us to do, as did the wondrous wise man who having scratched out his eyes in a bramble bush, jumped with all his might and main into another bush, to scratch them in again. Our present Chief Magistrate and other Straight-out Democrats point to Cuba as the head-quarters of that existing slave-trade, which all men deprecate on the score of humanity, and which most men of common sense deprecate as adverse to the interests of our own slave-holders; and they mildly suggest that the Ostend manifesto will soon be considered a highly moral document, and that the President should have been indulged year before last with thirty millions of dollars, to purchase perhaps the good will and fixtures of France in our tropical latitudes and her co-operation as to Cuba, or for some similar act of diplomatic bribery. Other Democrats are greatly distressed in respect to the mal-administration of Mexico; and they gently insinuate that, in the name of humanity, we should give stability to some sort of government in that distracted land. Now can the mind of man imagine greater folly than that which is involved in such suggestions? We already resemble a mercantile house which has involved itself in speculations of doubtful morality outside of its legitimate business. Already we have discord amongst the States on the Atlantic slope. On the Pacific we have manifest weakness against any powerful European foe, who may there assail us. Every message of our Secretaries of War during a number of years past has been witness of the anxiety of our military officials to place our Pacific settlements in a

satisfactory position for self-defence, in case of sudden contingency, in the matter of war. There is, or at least in due time there must be, some rivalry, if not some antagonism of interest, between Atlantic and Pacific States. Why should we engross more of Mexico, as food for sectional jealousies? Why should we dream of Cuba, which during war would be to the United States what Sebastopol was recently to Russia, viz.: a vulnerable distant point. Russia was unable to display her full strength at Sebastopol. At any other point she would have foiled Napoleon the Third, and Great Britain also, as easily as she had once foiled Napoleon the First. Do we wish to embark in a colonial system, that will entail upon us standing armies and cruising fleets, and corrupt officials, for provinces peopled by a soft and idle race? Do we not know that the first step in such a career is but the beginning of crime and folly? And are we sanguine that the sectional jealousies which in our present state of moderate expansion threaten us with disruption, will be more safe when they shall have room to sweep in tempestuous fury over distant tropical lands and seas?

We have done. It may seem presumptuous for one who is neither a lawyer, nor a politician, nor a controversialist, who has no remarkable social position and who cannot even claim to be a gentleman of leisure; it may seem presumptuous, we say, for such an one to undertake to teach our senators wisdom, and above all, to correct the deliberate advice of one of the very chiefest of those senators. But, for this offence against propriety, the author claims indulgence on the ground, that a time of public alarm has already come, or at least is certainly about to come, and it therefore behooves every one who has an audible voice to lift it up, not to increase, but to quell in some measure that alarm. We need not be alarmed. We have not gone so far in a wrong path that amendment of ways has become impracticable. Our God and Heavenly Father graciously designs that *our intestine dissensions shall effectually check and subdue that spirit of aggressive and unrighteous conquest*

which has gained great strength within us during the present generation! Let us "bear the rod and Him who hath appointed it," and it shall be well with us.

The writer is well aware that nice people will raise many critical objections to his accuracy on the many points which the foregoing discussion has opened. To such he begs leave to say that he writes in the name of common sense rather than in the name of cobwebs. He is also aware that two leading objections may be made to his whole argument.

1. That he does not explain the precise course of the financial storm which he seems to anticipate as imminent upon the election of Mr. Lincoln. In answer to this he will only remark, that his meteorology does not go higher than simple prediction of a storm. He does not undertake to be as precise in regard to financial changes as the philosopher of Brooklyn Heights is in respect to heated terms.

2. That he does not indicate any means or any probability of the removal of the African race from our land, nor even of their eventual enfranchisement. In answer to this he desires to say that he is no better than his fathers were. Their wisdom was altogether at fault as to the designs of Providence in respect to the transplanted race; and we need not be ashamed to confess that we are neither prophets nor the sons of prophets. The Lord hath done great things for the dark-skinned race, which Africa gave and America hath nourished. Let him who doubts on this point consider first the poor idolatrous creature that recently wallowed on the soil of Africa, like a brute, to express an emotion of joy in the presence of the manly Livingstone, and then listen to the godly discourse and observe the gentle, well-ordered life of the plantation negro in the United States.

We are of the number of those who believe, that in due season the sons of Africa will in large measure be restored to the land of their fathers. We have often figured to our imagination the almost miraculous speed with which large discoveries of gold in the interior of that land may at no

distant day change the face of Africa and of our slave-holding South simultaneously. Washing gold is vastly more profitable than raising cotton; and indeed a gold region is the only field of labor which will defray the enormous expenses of enfranchisement of slaves and of emigration on a vast scale. But be the instrument of restoration what it may, eventual restoration in some way seems highly probable, for is it not written that "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands to God?" And how shall she do so without preachers—not a few, but many? And who so likely to be her preachers as her restored sons? And when the restored sons of Africa shall thus worship God in the land of their fathers in exceeding great numbers and in exceeding joy over many tribes of native converts, they will call blessed not the British slave-trader of the eighteenth century whom Mr. Seward has excused, but the American planter of the nineteenth century whom Mr. Seward has denounced.

Philadelphia, November 5, 1860.

